DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 028 196 24 TE 499 954

By-Guttman, Allen
Who's in This with Me? The Individual and His Group. Teacher and Student Manuals.
Amherst Coll., Mass.
Spons Agency-Office of Education (DHEW), Washington, D.C. Bureau of Research.
Report No-CRP-H-168
Bureau No-BR-5-1071
Pub Date 66
Contract-OEC-5-10-158
Note-61p.
EDRS Price MF-$0.50 HC-$3.15
Descriptors-*American History, Ethnic Groups, Group Norms, *History Instruction, Instructional Materials, *Minority Groups, Moral Values, Personal Values, Secondary Education, Self Actualization, *Self Concept, Self Evaluation, Social Sciences, Social Studies, Social Studies Units, Social Values, United States History, Values

Designed primarily for high school students who, for cultural or psychological reasons, find the traditional curriculum irrelevant, this unit deals with the problems of individual identity and group membership. Short readings taken from various periods and from various aspects of American society are used to set up discussions of racial, religious, and ethnic groups in America, with special emphasis on the student's own sense of himself. (See also TE 499 957 for another unit designed for the average culturally-deprived student.) (Author)

ED028196

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WHO'S IN THIS WITH ME?
THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS GROUP

Teacher and Student Manuals

(Public Domain Edition)

Allen Guttmann

Committee on the Study of History
Amherst, Massachusetts

TE 499 954

EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION
PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

TEACHER'S MANUAL

WHO'S IN THIS WITH ME? THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS GROUP

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This material has been produced
by the
Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts
under contract with the U. S. Office of Education
as Cooperative Research Project #H-168.

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This unit is aimed at culturally deprived students of at least average intelligence. Three conditions ought to be met before the unit is tried out in the classroom. (1) The students ought to be able to read a short but moderately difficult selection if they are motivated strongly enough; (2) the teacher ought to be reasonably well informed about American society at the present moment; (3) the student-teacher relationship ought to be relaxed enough for the class to discuss matters that are both controversial and personal. If these three conditions are met, the teacher has a chance to "get them where they live" and, at the same time, investigate problems that the most profound philosophers have been unable to solve.

WHAT DOES THE UNIT ACCOMPLISH?

In general terms, the student gains insight into some fundamental sociological facts about race, religion, and ethnic groups in America. He also sees new dimensions to problems such as Indian affairs and labor organization. The student discovers, in a new context, the theories of self-reliance and the melting-pot. He learns to see these problems and these theories in relation to himself. Unless he is sunk into hopelessly autistic behavior, the chances are that he will be moved to re-examine himself, his group, and other groups, and to re-evaluate his position on specific issues as well as on the major problem of individual identity in what Louis Adamic called "a nation of nations." Finally, the student realizes that education can be relevant to the world outside the classroom window.

But what exactly are the problems encountered in this unit and how can we be sure the student will see them as his problems? The problems are those related to individual identity and group membership. It is a commonplace that all of us can be classified in a hundred ways. We are all members of racial, religious, ethnic, and occupational groups, even if many of us are "hybrids" in at least one category. It is also a commonplace that the United States is a very heterogeneous society characterized by a high degree of social mobility. The result is that most of us are fairly conscious of what made us what we are and also of what we want to be. We cannot, of course, change our religious origins or derive from some nation that none of our ancestors derived from. Still less can we change our race. But we can change our religion. We can emphasize or de-emphasize our national origins. We can consciously stress or choose to ignore (as much as possible) our race. For example, the Negro in America can seek to integrate himself as completely as possible into white society or to separate himself as completely as possible from white society by joining a black nationalist group. Most Negroes find a solution which is a middle way. Similarly, Jews, Irish or Italian Americans, and "white-Anglo-Saxon-Protestants" can choose to emphasize what is common to all Americans or to emphasize whatever they feel sets them off into some smaller group of likeminded people.

All this is, of course, still rather general. What specifically does the unit do? The unit consists of a number of readings, within a framework of theory.

Section I, the first set of readings, is related to Catholicism (should Roman Catholics have a separate school system supported in part by public funds?), to the place of the Negro in America (should Negroes separate themselves as a nation within a nation?), and to the loyalty of Jews to "the Jewish community" (should Americans of Jewish origin see themselves as Jews?). These readings are designed to interest and to involve, and even to arouse, the student.

The next set of readings, Section II, concerns opposed theories of the relation of individuals and groups in American society. This set of readings consists of selections taken from Crevecoeur's Letters from an American Farmer, from a play by Israel Zangeill (The Melting-Pot), from Horace Kallen's famous defense of "cultural pluralism", and from Emerson's classic defense of individualism, the essay on "Self-Reliance."

There is no Section III labeled as such in the readings given to the students. Instead the student is asked to describe his own background and to set forth his idea of his own future--with attention to racial, religious, and ethnic factors.

The movements from Section I to Section II and from Section II to Section III represented changes in tactics; the movement to Section IV represents a change in strategy. Section IV is a set of six readings in which documents are paired. Students are given explicit or implicit statements of basic values followed by somewhat less lofty attempts to deal with practical problems.

For example, in IV, A, Franklin's "How I Tried to Become Morally Perfect" from his autobiogrpahy is juxtaposed to a letter of his in which he discusses the Pennsylvania Dutch.

Section V consists of three assignments in which rhetoric seems to distort the real social issues. Finally, the student is assigned a "research" paper (of the most modest sort) in which he writes about the life of someone who conquered racial, religious, or ethnic disadvantages in order to achieve greatness--as defined by the student.

This account of the assignments sounds very structured. Actually, the hope is that the teacher will experiment with various sequences. The materials are not arranged in a normative order. They are described here, and numbered in the unit, on the basis of the editors' suggested sequence for a predominantly white Protestant or mixed class. But the order can be varied from class to class to secure effects desired by the teacher. In fact, four different sequences are suggested for Section I, to suit four different kinds of class. A series of possible sequences is suggested on page 23. Before repeating the invitation to the teacher to demolish the framework, it is probably wise to indicate in greater detail what that framework is.

POSSIBLE SEQUENCE FOR PREDOMINANTLY WHITE PROTESTANT CLASS

Section I

Three Situations

In each of the three readings in Section I, the problem is of a minority group which wants to enhance its separateness. The student is confronted with two situations in which he thinks loyalty to the group is excessive because it is loyalty to a group in which he is not a member. Then, except for the white Protestant group, the student faces a similar situation in which his own group is involved. The formula now looks very different! In the case of the white Protestant, as seen above, the question which becomes increasingly pressing is this: has my group really accepted others as full citizens or have we set up pressures which have forced minority groups in upon themselves?

The sequence discussed in detail here is that suggested for predominantly white Protestant classes because Section I is likely to be a little more difficult with such a class than with Negro, Catholic, or Jewish students. (See page 23 of this Manual for the strategy with these other kinds of class.)

Each selection is printed with a brief introduction that describes the material without raising questions about it. This is intentional, to avoid "giving away the game" so that teachers may work inductively.

A. Roman Catholics and the Public Schools

To begin the teacher should set up the problem of the parochial school. The teacher might well read the introduction to I, A and discuss it with the class. (If the teacher wants to review the constitutional situation, Paul G. Kauper's short book, Religion and the Constitution, is useful.) The students should be told that the general problem of the unit is that of individuals and groups rather than the constitutionality of public aid to parochial schools. The class should probably not be told what will follow I, A, but this question can be decided by the teacher.

Lekachman's essay, excerpted as the first selection of reading, presents both sides of the controversy and comes out against aid to parochial education. Clearly, this will tend to bias most readers against public aid to parochial schools (unless they are so annoyed by Lekachman that they rush to the other conclusion). This bias is intended. The strategy of this sequence is to present a predominantly white Protestant class with a situation so structured that they are likely to feel that segregation is not really a good thing. (By "segregation," of course, we mean the separation of Catholic education from public education.) There is no reason why some members of the class could not disagree with Lekachman, but the expected outcome is a serious discussion in which the odds are that the class will probably agree with Lekachman. The teacher should stay neutral. The question will be raised again, after the students have examined other forms of segregation.

Questions:

Lekachman sets forth an economic argument for public aid to parochial schools. What is it? How does he attempt to answer it? Is his answer satisfactory?

Lekachman also sets forth a moral and religious argument for public aid. What is this argument? Does Lekachman agree or disagree with this argument? What is your position on this point?

At a certain moment, Lekachman changes the kind of arguments he has been discussing and turns to what he thinks of as the real issue. What sentence signals the turn? /"In the end, opponents of aid to parochial schools must argue their position on its merits."/

What is Lekachman's final argument? What is it that he wants public schools to do that parochial schools, by definition, cannot do?

The general outlines for a discussion are suggested above. The teacher should encourage the students to commit themselves, pro or con, to the principle of segregation by religious difference. The teacher might even allot the last ten minutes or so of the hour for the students to write down their views on the question. (This might even be done in the form of a ballot--as if the class had to vote on a bond issue in a municipal election.)

The chances are that someone, in the course of the discussion, will bring up the fact that Negroes in America have often been schooled in segregated schools. (This point will almost surely be raised if the teacher introduces the work "segregation" to describe the parochial school system.) If the point rises naturally there is no reason why segregation by race couldn't be discussed. If the point is not raised, the teacher can introduce it at the end of the hour, as he (or she) passes out reading B.

B. The Black Muslims

This reading is taken from the writings of Elijah Muhammad, leader of the Black Muslims.

As with A, the unit is structured with some expectations in mind. It seems unlikely that a white Protestant class would wholely accept the message of Elijah Muhammad. The hope is that the extreme positions taken by the Black Muslims will lead to considerable re-thinking of the positions taken in A--as well as to a new sense of the difficultues of the Negro in American civilization.

Questions:

Elijah Muhammad's message is by no means difficult to understand: Negroes should form their own nation, their own "house." Ask yourself two questions as you read: (1) what specifically does Elijah Muhammad have in mind when he says that there is no hope for the Negro in the United States today? (2) what ideals does Elijah Muhammad have and to what degree are they unique? As an aid to answering the second question, compare in your own mind Elijah Muhammad's call for Negro nationhood with the appeal of the State of Israel for Zionists (i.e., for those who urged a Jewish homeland). In other words, do the arguments for and against the State of Israel apply to the case of the Negro in America?

The discussion of Part B might well begin with the general questions suggested above. The class will surely be able, with the help of the teacher, to indicate some of the difficulties faced by Negroes in America today. The specific ideals of Elijah Muhammad are a more interesting question. Prominent among them, as seen in the selection, are liberty, equality, fraternity, nationalism, religious faith--ideals that are certainly far from unique. If anything, the argument is disappointingly familiar. It could almost be translated: Life, Liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness. The similarities are, then, not only the Jews who founded Israel but also to the Puritans who sought a house of their own in America and to the revolutionary generation that won control of the land that they felt was theirs. The student who feels the Black Muslim demand is absurd should be able to say that the Negro really can hope for complete integration in American life.

At some point in the discussion, the class is likely to begin to draw comparisons between the separation of the Negroes and the separation of the Catholics in the parochial school system (as well, of course, as in benevolent and other church-related organizations). Once the comparative dimension is introduced the whole problem of segregation, i.e., of conscious separation, is seen in a different light. It is, to change the metaphor, the same formula with a different set of quantities. The student who thought that Catholic students should not be separated in a parochial school system must now ask himself whether Negroes should be a separate nation or not. The student who thought Catholics should be encouraged in their segregation must answer the same question. If the answer is that Negroes should separate but Catholics shouldn't, the student will be forced to face up to inconsistencies in his (presumed) democratic beliefs. If the answer is that the Black Muslims are wrong, the student must ask why they have been pushed to the extreme position that they occupy, and how much integration into white society is possible? No matter what the student's position on Catholic schools and on the Black Muslims, he should feel (1) strains and contradictions in his thought, or (2) the effects of "reinforcement" as he sees the analoguous relationship between apparently disparate beliefs.

At the end of the hour, just before handing out Part C, the teacher might well ask the student to give his attitude toward the Black Muslim's demand for nationhood. This two or three sentence paragraph could then be kept, along with the statement on public aid to Catholic schools, for reintroduction later in the unit.

C. The Jews as a Group

Because Roth's story is probably too long to be read in one day, the teacher might assign it in two parts, with the first running through Sheldon Grossbart's apparent change of heart. This is also a good place for a half-page written exercise along the lines of the following question: "This is not the end of the story. Describe, in approximately half a page, how you think the story ought to end."

Questions:

What kind of a claim does Sheldon Grossbart make? How does Sgt. Marx respond? What do you think the author of the story thinks about the two main characters? /If the students are not asked to write the suggested paper, they might be given the question as one to think about./

Roth's story is a very simple one, almost an allegory. It is clear that he sympathizes with Sgt. Marx rather than with Private Grossbart. (This becomes clearer still as the story comes to its conclusion.) Rather than discussing the questions asked of the first half of the story, the teacher might well attempt to explain obscure references or events in the story (if any student is confused) or to answer questions that come up about Judaism in general and American Judaism in particular. The questions asked of the students can then be deferred, asked again as the student reads the second half of the story, and dealt with more fully then.

Students are likely, as they get into the story, to ask: "What is a Jew?" "What kinds of Jews are there?" The teacher (who might consult Nathan Glazer's short history and analysis, American Judaism) will probably have to explain to non-Jewish classes that Jews are an ethnic group rather than a race, that there are Negro and Chinese and Swedish Jews, that the ethnic group is composed of believers in Judaism plus all those descended from believers, that many American Jews are atheists or agnostics. The student will probably also have to be told that American Jews are divided into a shrinking Orthodox group, a Conservative group (which is still fairly close to Orthodoxy), a Reform group (which is very close to liberal Protestantism in its theology), and a large secular group whose tie to the Jewish community in general is mostly historical. These matters-of-fact might well take up the greater part of the class hour.

The teacher will have had time to glance at the imagined conclusions of the story, if the short paper is assigned, and can tell the class how they fared as literary prognosticators. The question of Roth's own attitude can then be raised. The students should see rather quickly, if they hadn't already, that Roth has no use whatsoever for Sheldon Grossbart. To drive the point home, the teacher might read to the class (or pass out in mimeograph form), a statement made by Roth when he was consulted by Commentary:[1]

> I cannot find a true and honest place in the history of believers that begins with Abraham, Issac, and Jacob on the basis of the heroism of these believers or of their humiliations and anguish. I can connect with them and with their descendents [only] as I apprehend their God. And until such time as I do apprehend him, there will continue to exist between myself and those others who seek his presence, a question, sometimes spoken, sometimes not, which for all the apin and longing it may engender, for all the disappointment and bewilderment it may produce, cannot be swept away by nostalgia or sentimentality or even by a blind and valiant effort of the will: how are you connected to me as another man is not?

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[1] The statement appears in Norman Podhoretz, ed., "Jewishness and The Younger Intellectuals," Commentary, XXXI (April 1961), 351.

This statement was, when published, fuel for fires already ignited by Roth's story. Many leaders of Orthodox, Conservative, and even Reform Jewish groups felt that Roth had betrayed them. Roth has been rather widely denounced by these groups, and rather widely praised (for this and other work) by secular Jews and by non-Jews.

The question can now be asked: Does someone of Jewish descent have any obligation to the Jewish community (i.e., to organized Jews)? (To the student who protests that anyone of Jewish parentage will always be identified as a Jew, the teacher might point out the fact that many Jewish groups have completely disappeared into larger groups into which they were assimilated, and that many descendents of Jews have chosen not to identify themselves with their ancestral faith, (e.g., Barry Goldwater, Fiorella La Guardia, Walter Lippmann).

It seems inevitable that the class will without prodding from the teacher very quickly begin to compare the situation of the Jew with that of the Catholic and the Negro. Why might a Jew feel safer among "his own people"? Again, the student can ask himself, if he is consistent, if he has any clear ideas of just what the individual owes his group and what the group owes to the larger society of the nation. The Jewish student who chastized Catholics for their "parochialism" will have to look in a new way at his view of Catholicism and at his view of his own ties to other Jews. The Negro and the Catholic will have to go through similar processes. The white Protestant will have to ask himself if his group, the dominant one nationally, hasn't seemed less of a group simply because it was, and is, dominant. The white Protestant will also have to ask if the exclusivnist policies of his group hasn't forced minorities in on themselves. The hope is that every student will by now realize how complicated the whole question of individualism and society really is.

Section II

Theories of Assimilation

Through Section I, the student has dealt with fairly specific problems. Although he has been encouraged to articulate his own notion of what ought to be done in these problems of race, religion, and ethnic group, he has not been given any of the classic statements on the problems of assimilation, cultural pluralism, and individualism. Section II does just that, i.e., the student is given short excerpts from various writers who worked out theoretical frameworks for the discussion of the groups that make up American society. The frameworks are not compatible one with another. The student will quickly find that he cannot accept all of the writers; some will reinforce his convictions and others will challenge them.

A. The Melting Pot

The two selections are, of course, from classic sources--from Crevecoeur's Letters From an American Farmer and from Zangwill's play, The Melting-Pot.

Questions:

What does it mean when Crevecoeur talks about a "mixture" of blood and a "melting" of individuals? Are he and Zangeill talking about the same thing? What does Crevecoeur think will happen to religion in America? Does the ideal of Crevecoeur and Zangwill strike you as attractive? Do you want Americans to be new men? Has American history actually led to the results predicted by Crevecoeur and by Zangwill?

The questions raise the problem of fact and of value: Have Americans actually become the new men predicted? Ought Americans become new men, remade (i.e., melted and recast) and different from their ancestors? The students are likely to take different positions on the question of fact and also on the question of value. Certainly racial, religious, and ethnic differences have persisted in America, but a great deal of "hybridization" has taken place, and the differences have tended, except perhaps for racial differences, to be somewhat less important than in Europe. Cooperation among groups is probably at least as common as competition, and certainly more common than violence. The teacher, or even the students, might consult Will Herberg's famous sociological study of diminishing religious differences, Protestant, Catholic, Jew. The general tendency is for differences to be least important in political life and most important in matters of marriage and the family. That is, people cooperate politically and then economically and then socially (in the popular sense) and only then do they inter-marry. But instances of political antagonisms are plentiful even as the rate of intermarriage goes up, which it does, as shown in Albert Gordon's book, Intermarriage.

The question of value is completely open. The student who endorses Zangwill completely and the student who thinks there should be no cooperation among groups are both likely to be extremists, but everyone draws a line somewhere. Where? Norman Podhoretz, editor of the Jewish magazine Commentary, displays an interesting ambivalence when he urges Negroes and whites to intermarry but disapproves of Jews who marry Gentiles!

B. Cultural Pluralism

With Kallen's essay, the tables are turned. The group is now the source of value.

Questions:

In a sentence or two write in your own words what it is that Kallen is opposed to. Describe Kallen's ideal for the relation of the individual to his group. Do you share this ideal? What room does Kallen leave for individual choice? How might Kallen react to the three problems already looked at in Part I? Does Kallen's essay change your view of the earlier situations? You have probably heard people speak against "block" voting, or read newspaper condemnations of people who talk about "the Irish vote" or "the Jewish vote" or "the Negro vote." What do you think Kallen would say about the idea of a "block" vote?

Kallen's work is fairly difficult. The teacher might have to act as explainer and clarifier (the orchestra metaphor toward the end of the reading is easily grasped) before he can act as discussion-leader on more theoretical questions. The questions asked above should certainly lead to a discussion that lasts (and perhaps outlasts) the hour. The purpose of the assignment is, of course, to show that there is a social theory that places loyalty to ethnic, racial, and other groups above a loyalty to "self" (i.e., individualism). Perhaps another formulation would be to say that Kallen's position is one that calls upon the individual to be true to his social self. In any event, the assignment sets up a contrast to the next selection, Emerson on "Self-Reliance." If the class can do no more than clarify Kallen's ideas, the lesson should be a successful preparation for the next day's debate.

C. Emersonian Individualism

The familiar essay now serves as a way to return to the idea of the melting-pot.

Questions:

Are Emerson's ideas familiar ones? Where have you heard them? Are his ideas closer to those of Crevecoeur and Zangwill or to those of Horace Kallen?

Emerson urges Americans to rely upon themselves. Where does he expect a man to look for his values, i.e., for the things he believes in? Does Emerson expect people to arrive at the same values? Does he expect people to act differently than they would if they were conformists? What kind of America did he live in? Did his social environment have anything to do with his arguments? Are his views valid today or has our social environment changed too much to allow people to rely upon themselves? What do you think Emerson's attitude would be if he had a short conversation with a Beatnik or a Negro who decided violence was the only answer to his problems?

What might Kallen say to Emerson's arguments? What might Emerson answer in return? How would Emerson view the situations discussed in Part I?

Who gives better advice for life in twentieth-century America, Emerson or Kallen?

Having discussed three sociological problems and having at hand several theories of the relation of the individual to the group, the student ought to be in a position for generalizing about specific situations and for reassessment of his earlier positions. The suggested questions ought to carry the discussion to a fairly high level of sophistication.

Section III

Who Am I and Where Am I Going?

The assignments of this Section narrow the focus on the student himself and give him a chance to apply his presumably reconsidered conceptions to a projection of his values in the form of a statement of plans for the future. By describing his past and his hopes for the future, the student should make explicit his conception of himself in relation to his group or groups. The white, middle-class, Protestant of British ancestry can scarcely criticize the Catholics or the Jews for their "separateness" if he envisions his own future as a replica of his past!

Section III has no reading assignment. The student might be given the page entitled "Family Origins Chart." The sheet has symbols for three generations: the student's job is to indicate his parents', hiw grandparents', and his own race, religion, national origins and economic class. Minimally, this can be done on the mimeographed sheet, but a more satisfactory version would be to have the student add a page of written exposition to the annotated sheet. In the event that a student did not want to talk about personal matters, he could be asked to use the library and describe the situation of some famous person of his choice.

If this were too difficult, the student could be asked to imagine the family origins of the "typical" American.

After he has completed this, the student might be asked to write out in one-to-three pages his plans for the future, with an account given of the kind of spouse sought, the occupation and economic level desired, the religion practiced (or not practiced), the hopes for children and the dreams for children's lives. The information given should include the four classes given on the family-origins sheets. And the student should state explicitly somewhere in the paper, probably at the beginning or the end, how he sees himself in relation to the groups of which he is a member. He should also state explicitly whether he sees himself in the Emersonian or in the Kallenist "model." Finally, if the length of the paper permits, the student might be asked to state any changes in his conception of himself, his group, and other groups brought about during the course of this unit; or the teacher might prefer to save this for a subsequent discussion.

The teacher will probably want to classify the family-origins sheets and come up with some simple statistics about the class. The class will almost surely be interested and, except in the most obviously homogeneous groups, eager to guess at the breakdown by categories.

The greater part of an hour might be spent discussing the final question asked above--how, if at all, has the unit changed the student's conception of himself, his group, and other groups? The implications for American democracy of total commitment to one's group or of total commitment to oneself provide enormous areas for discussion. Presumably, this should be an open-ended class.

Section IV

Theory and Practice

The shift here is a sharp one. This section provides the student with a chance to "cut into" American history at several junctures. He now uses the ideas and insights gained by coping with the questions raised in Sections I through III. There is, moreover, no reason why the readings should be taken all in a row. The teacher might well introduce them in the context of other problems of their various periods. There is, finally, no reason why other episodes in American history might not be approached with the questions asked in Sections IV and V. The readings are offered as convenient possibilities rather than as indispensable pieces of a master plan.

A. How to Succeed in Colonial America

Franklin's famous scheme for moral perfection has been used for many purposes. It serves now, in part, to illustrate the ideas it doesn't discuss. It is, in other words, Franklin's assumptions that matter, not his explicit beliefs.

Questions:

Read Franklin's account of his "project of arriving at moral perfection" with one basic question in mind: how does Franklin seem to conceive of the relation between the individual and society? A saint would strive for virtue whether or not this meant earthly success; a complete hypocrite would ignore virtue in his quest for success. How does Franklin see the relation between individual virtue and social success? In other words, why does he list the virtues he lists?

Franklin tells us in his autobiography that a Quaker friend told him he was too proud and insolent, and that the Quaker's rebuke caused him to add "Humility" to his list of virtues. Some readers have thought that the notation under "Humility" is really a sign of pride; other readers see in the notation an example of Franklin's good humor. Which do you think it is?

Franklin's assumption seems to be that virtue is much the same thing as good citizenship. His comment on "Chastity" certainly disqualifies him for sainthood. The emphasis is on one's social relationships and not on one's relation to one's Maker or even to one's Self. Beyond this assumption about virtue is another--that the virtuous man will succeed. This clearly rests on still further assumptions about a society with careers open to talent. The whole section is a prescription for advancement in a socially mobile society in which every man can rise, as Franklin did, if only he conforms to a reasonable moral code and lives a useful life.

The class will probably need a good deal of questioning on the part of the teacher to bring out these assumptions, but the questions asked above ought to get the students started on the process of ferreting out Franklin's assumptions.

As preparation for the next assignment, the class might be asked what Franklin's attitude was toward minority groups.

B. What To Do About The Pennsylvania Dutch

Franklin's illiberal side is less well known, but the Germans were for him what Negroes are for many white Americans--an alien part of American life.

Questions:

Is Franklin's letter a surprise to you? Why? Is his attitude here consistent or inconsistent with the assumptions of his scheme for moral perfection? If Franklin were asked to add certain virtues so that the Pennsylvania Dutch could profit from his scheme, what virtues would he list? The class might even be asked to add the virtues and the notations, e.g., "Speech. Learn English and take every occasion to correct your accent."

What is there about Franklin's letter that shows his objections are more or less reasonable ones and not simply the arguments of a bigot? What would Franklin's arguments be if he wanted to exclude the Germans from success?

The chances are that the class will be surprised to find Franklin "prejudiced." The reason is, probably, that Franklin is in the American Pantheon. But his arguments in the letter are not really inconsistent with his image of a socially mobile society in which individuals rise or fall because of their own virtue. The child of a German immigrant must become Americanized if he is to rise to the very top of the political, economic, or social ladder; for Franklin, leadership of one's own group was not enough. It is probably worth noting that Franklin's own rise to greatness had been spectacular. He was very conscious of his place in the world and of his own humble origins.

C. Thomas Jefferson as Abolitionist

This selection sets the stage. It shows Jefferson in a familiar light.

Questions:

About whom is Jefferson most worried? What is the source of his worry? What signs are there in this passage that Jefferson is very upset about the problem of slavery? What do you think Jefferson imagined to be the role in American society of the emancipated slave? What makes you think Jefferson imagined this role?

If the discussion merely clarifies the passage for the whole class, enough will have been achieved to set the stage for the next assignment, which raises the real problems. Jefferson is clearly more worried and upset about the effects of slavery on the slave-holder. There cannot, therefore, be much of a dispute in class about the nature and source of his concern. The conception Jefferson held of the future role of the Negro is, on the other hand, something the uniformed student will simply have to supply by intuition. On the basis of the Declaration of Independence, most students will probably imagine full citizenship as the consequence of emancipation.

D. Thomas Jefferson as White Supremacist

As with Franklin, Jefferson is caught in an illiberal stance. The point, of course, is not to "debunk" the Founders but to show them faced with problems of insuperable difficulty.

Questions:

Where do you think Jefferson is guilty of prejudices common to any group? Do you think that any race or physical attribute is more beautiful than any other? How do men get their ideas of beauty?

Do you agree with Jefferson's argument that Negroes have contributed little to American society and must, therefore, be considered naturally inferior? Can you imagine any other explanation for the relatively inferior contribution of the Negro to American society in Jefferson's day?

What is there about Jefferson's argument that indicates his attempt to be scientific?

If Jefferson really was correct in finding Negroes inferior to whites, would his solution to the racial problem in America be acceptable?

Jefferson is, of course, guilty of what anthropologists term ethnocentrism. His assumptions about man and nature are like Franklin's--there is a human nature which does not change and is not greatly affected by environmental differences, although Jefferson's argument about the need for emancipation indicates insight into role-connected personality changes. Jefferson's argument is that Negroes are not equal and cannot, therefore, take part in the competitive society of free individuals. Rather than keep them as second-class citizens, he would remove them altogether from our shores. This, like Franklin's desire to assimilate the Germans, represents a form of egalitarianism rather than an illiberal view of the world. It is our knowledge that Negroes are not inherently inferior that puts us in a position to reach a conclusion different from Jefferson's, assuming, of course, that most of us do reach a different position.

E. The Destiny of The Indian: A White Man's View

The Negro is one challenge to American democracy. The Indian is another. The Cherokee Removal conflict focused the problem into special sharpness.

Questions:

Does Andrew Jackson seem in any way prejudiced against the Indians? Compare his view of the Indians to Franklin's view of the Germans and Jefferson's view of the Negro.

Can you think of any political reasons behind Jackson's statements? Who voted for Jackson in 1828 and who was likely to vote for him in 1832?

Write a paragraph or two in which you describe the life of the Cherokee Indians in Georgia, as you imagine that life to be.

The question of Jackson's prejudice or lack of it is hard to establish from the text. Actually, we know him to be an ex-Indian-fighter with the Indian-fighter's usual feelings about good Indians and dead Indians. He managed to subordinate his more violent feelings to the needs of the office he held! The point, of course, is that Jackson's desire to placate the people of Georgia and to extend the rule of the white man is offered as something for the Indians' own good. This is a technique known before.

The written paragraph, if assigned, should prepare the students for a jolt as they read and discuss the next assignment.

F. The Destiny of The Indian: The Indian's View

There is the other side, not of one man's thought, as before, but of the historical conflict. The clash presents a classic example of what anthropologists call "cross-cultural" incomprehension.

Questions:

How does the statement by the Indians fit your conception of Indian life in Georgia? Does their language seem more or less sophisticated than you imagined? What does their complaint about the western lands tell you about their way of life in the east? What does their appeal to contract, treaty, law, and security of property indicate about the level of their civilization? To what feelings do the Indians appeal? Do they see themselves as President Jackson saw them?

The Cherokees had, by the time of the removal controversy, formed a republic and adopted a constitution based on that of the United States. They were largely Christian and almost entirely agricultural. They had worked out a written form of their language and had begun to publish a newspaper, The Cherokee Phoenix, in English and in the Cherokee language. These details are, of course, not in the appeal read by the students, but the appeal does indicate that the Cherokees had definitely left the nomadic stage behind. They were farmers rather than hunters. Some even held Negro slaves! The most impressive aspect of the document is the level of the language and the effectiveness of the plea, which reveal most strikingly, the gap between Jackson's rhetoric and the Indians' own. Although Jackson sounds more sympathetic to the Indians than did Franklin to the Germans or Jefferson to the Negroes, he is actually less sympathetic. At some point in the discussion the teacher might well raise the question: how do we find out whether people mean what they say? The editor's not-very-unusual conclusion is: Actions speak louder than words.

Section V

Three Problems

The three problems of this section are illustrated by single rather than by paired assignments. The student who has worked with Section IV, or with similar cross-sections of American history, should now be able to pick up the information he needs without the documentary evidence provided in Section IV. The fun, at any rate, is in the attempt.

A. The Great Steel Strike of 1919

The strike is an important conflict in its own right, but the selections are chosen to illustrate the main theme of the unit rather than to enable the student to say how the strike should have been settled.

Questions:

A labor union is a group of men with something in common. What is the common thing, or things, and how does a labor union differ from a racial, religious, or ethnic group? What is Judge Gary's view of labor unions? What earlier writers does Judge Gary remind you of? Do you think these earlier writers would agree to the use Judge Gary makes of their ideas?

What is the Senate Committee's view of labor unions? What is their principle argument against the living conditions of the steel workers? Does this argument suggest that the Senate Committee shared or did not share Judge Gary's view of American society?

The questions should lead the students back to Franklin, Jefferson, and Emerson, and to some consideration of the fact that none of the Founders and few of the Transcendentalists really imagined an economy dominated by corporations the size of U. S. Steel. How realistic is the Emersonian model for the twentieth century?

The students will not have the exact figures, but they will see in the readings that most of the strikers were foreign-born. The tone of Judge Gary and of the Senate Committee is unprejudiced, but the foreignness of the strikers probably was a factor in the emotional aspect of judgment. The Senate urges Americanization. Is this or isn't this a regrettable form of ethnocentrism? The question can no more be answered here than earlier, but the relevance and pervasiveness of such considerations should by now be very clear to the students.

B. The McCarran Act and the Quota System

Like the steel strike of 1919, the McCarran Act and the problem of Immigration is important in its own right. The emphasis here is not on the justice or injustice of the quota system, although the student is encouraged to express an opinion on the subject; the emphasis is on the relation of ideas encountered here to those encountered previously in the unit.

Questions:

Senator McCarran's claims are explicit. How would you go about deciding if his claims were true or false? People often use the phrase, "the facts speak for themselves." Technically, this is nonsense--facts don't even exist until people conceive of experience as fact or as something other than fact. But there is a clear sense in which data can be interpreted to prove one thing rather than another. Data prove that the Soviet Union is larger than Denmark even if they don't prove that the Soviet Union's government is better or worse than the Danish government. Do the data found in the Table of Annual Immigration Quotas prove anything? What?

Discussion should center on the following question: Is or isn't the McCarran Act an expression of discrimination? The answer must be Yes, although it is debatable whether Senator McCarran's discrimination in favor of northern and western Europeans is a good or a bad thing for America. Many think it is a bad thing, but a majority of Congress from 1921 to the present accepted the quota system. An interesting additional question might be raised: Why haven't the believers in "Anglo-Saxon" superiority simply spoken out for their belief in recent years as they did in the first part of the century? Why haven't the "Protestants only" spokesmen been louder than they have been? The answers are, of course, complicated, but surely the political and economic power of the descendents of the "New Immigration" have something to do with the attempts of the exclusionists to deny any intent to discriminate.

C. Liberty and Equality

The last of the readings brings us back to the beginning in that Cummerford's argument is a restatement, on the surface at least, of Emersonian self-reliance. And Emersonian self-reliance was very probably behind some of the student's feelings about those who separated themselves from the larger society in order to "conform" to a smaller group.

Questions:

Cummerford's whole argument is based on the fact that liberty is threatened by equality. The threat is from civil-rights workers in particular but from minority groups in general. He does not discuss the fact that Negroes and other minority groups suffer from *de facto* segregation because they are limited in their access to housing as well as for other reasons. Does it seem to you that Negroes have more or less liberty than other Americans?

Cummerford is distressed at the thought of children acting out the grievances of their parents. Does this suggest that he would be bothered by other forms of drama in the schools? Would he, for instance, defend the right of a student not to take part in religious ceremonies in a public school?

What does Cummerford mean when he says that our liberties come from "our repository of Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence"? Where does he suggest the danger to our legal system is coming from? What does Cummerford mean by "absolute egalitarianism"? Is that what civil-rights workers want? He is worried about the "punitive police power of government." Do you expect him to be worried about anti-war demonstrators and their right to speak freely?

Cummerford denounces bureaucrats because they are not chosen by the people. Do you think he would call for regulation of American business by government on the ground that business power is not controlled by the people through their elected representatives? Do you think he would worry about "muzzled" teachers if the teachers were, for instance, Communists or Communist sympathizers?

What is Cummerford's view of "ethnic groups"? Are Americans of "Anglo-Saxon origins" an ethnic group? The essay also contains an attack on a "sociological dictum." The reference is to the Supreme Court's citation of sociologists in its 1954 decision outlawing segregation in the public school systems of the nation. Can it be said that a belief in integration is a sociological dictum? Can it also be said that belief in segregation is a sociological dictum? In short, Cummerford writes in the individualistic tradition of Jefferson and Emerson. Yet he seems always to be concerned about specific issues, and surveys these issues from a specific point of view, What is there about the essay that enables you at least to guess at the answers to these questions?

The questions asked of Cummerford's essay are all designed to suggest that his discussion of liberty and equality is motivated by a strong commitment to what is today called "conservatism," although this position is really a form of nineteenth-century liberalism. If we assume that Cummerford sincerely fears the curtailment of liberty by the demands of equality, it is nonetheless important to see that: (1) he sees the "have-nots" threatening the "haves" and does not seem worried about the liberties of the disadvantaged; (2) he seems to assume that "white-Anglo-Saxon-Protestants" are Americans while others are members of "ethnic groups" in a pejorative sense. Certainly the emotive quality of his language is obvious enough to suggest his view of the racial, religious, and ethnic factors discussed throughout this unit.

The discussion will probably tend to go in many directions at once. Whether the teacher allows this or, on the other hand, sets up a sequence and a format, depends on the teacher.

Section VI

The Student's Model: A Paper

Section VI consists of a paper assignment rather than a set of readings. The object of the paper is, in part, to build a little optimism into the unit and to offset the rather gloomy conclusions one is likely to reach from a discussion of Cummerford's essay. The suggested topic is, therefore, a "research" paper on some person who achieved greatness in America despite disadvantages faced because of racial, religious, or ethnic factors. "Greatness" can be defined by the student. The class will probably be more interesting if every student is left to himself and sent to the library to find the materials for a one or two-page biography. If library materials are very poor, students can be instructed to search for a current magazine with a story suitable to their paper, but this would clearly be a last resort. The chances are that many of the class will already have some current adult model about which they know more than the teacher, e.g., Martin Luther King, Arthur Goldberg, or even John F. Kennedy.

The teacher might, after papers are collected, attempt on the blackboard to categorize kinds of achievement and types of achievers, first with the heroes written about and then by information volunteered from the class. The likely pattern is the one found in Oscar Handlin's book, The Uprooted: minority groups first achieve status through "peripheral" avenues such as sports, crime, and entertainment. Then they achieve politically and within the professions. Business triumph is the last. This at least is roughly the case for the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, although it might be a jolt to some groups to hear that organized crime has been one of the historic routes to advancement in American society.

The teacher might also lead a discussion of ways in which the unit's assignments have changed the student's conception of himself and of his society. The ambitious teacher and the eager class might even get to work thinking up possible changes in the status quo, which some groups find somewhat short of utopian.

OTHER POSSIBLE SEQUENCES

The above description is based on the editors' expectation of one approach to the predominantly white Protestant class. The following table suggests other possible sequences.

Class is predominantly--

White Protestant	Negro	Roman Catholic	Jewish
I, A	I, A	I, B	I, B
I, B	I, C	I, C	I, A
I, C	I, B	I, A	I, C
II, A	(as for white Protestants)	(as for white Protestants)	(as for white Protestants)
II, B			
II, C			
III, A			
III, B			
IV, A			
IV, B			
IV, C			
IV, E			
IV, E			
IV, F			
V, A			
V, B			
V, C			
VI			

There is, however, no reason why the teacher could not begin with III, B in order to provide the student with a chance to describe his plans without any reference to race, religion, or national origins. These factors could then be brought directly to his attention with III, A, or indirectly with I. The teacher might begin with IV, as if this were simply a course in unrelated problems in American history. Starting with VI would be still another possibility.

The availability of many other units and of innumerable paper-bound books opens other avenues. I, A, on Roman Catholics and the Public Schools, in included in God and the Government, another experimental unit produced by the Committee on the Study of History. This whole unit might be used instead of the single day's lesson. Philip Roth's story (I, C) could be transformed into a reading of the whole collection, Goodbye Columbus, which is available in paperback edition. The two selections concerning the Indian removal controversy (III, E and F) are included in the unit State's Rights and Indian Removal: The Cherokee Nation v. The State of Georgia published by D. C. Heath Co. at Boston in the series New Dimensions in American History.

The Committee on the Study of History has still another unit devoted solely to problems of immigration, and other units on race relations in America. D. C. Heath also publishes a series, Problems in American Civilization, in which Colston E. Warne has edited a collection called The Steel Strike of 1919, a booklet aimed at the college-bound student but certainly not too difficult for the average reader. Although Jefferson's Notes on the State of Virginia is probably too difficult for the average student, Benjamin Franklin's Autobiography might take on new significance if it were studied in the context of this unit.

In short, the central concerns of this unit touch many aspects of American society. Each point of contact is also a possible transfer point to a new subject or combination of subjects. The whole intent of the unit and of the series itself is flexibility. To adopt a metaphor from football, the play is put into motion and the teacher is given the ball to run with as he will. Ultimately, the student receives the ball--he understands the game and has the skill to play it. The risks of this mode are higher than with a traditional textbook that narrates the political and economic history of the United States and asks the student to identify Hannibal Hamlin and/or the Erie Canal. But the rewards are greater too.

BIBLIOGRAPHIC SUGGESTIONS FOR THE TEACHER

In addition to the books mentioned earlier in the Teacher's Manual, two titles are especially useful. Milton M. Gordon's Assimilation in American Life: The Role of Race, Religion, and National Origins (Oxford, New York, 1964), is an excellent study. The footnotes to this book are a guide to further materials. Although Beyond the Melting Pot, (M.I.T.) by Nathan Glazer and Daniel Patrick Moynihan, is concerned solely with New York, the analysis of Negroes, Puerto Ricans, Jews, Italians, and Irish is invaluable for anyone interested in the problem of ethnic and other groups. Both of these titles are available in paperback edition.

BR-5-1071
PA-24
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EXPERIMENTAL MATERIAL
SUBJECT TO REVISION
PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

STUDENT'S MANUAL

WHO'S IN THIS WITH ME? THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS GROUP

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This material has been produced
by the
Committee on the Study of History, Amherst, Massachusetts
under contract with the U. S. Office of Education
as Cooperative Research Project #H-168.

NOTE TO THE PUBLIC DOMAIN EDITION

This unit was prepared by the Committee on the Study of History, Amherst College, under contract with the United States Office of Education. It is one of a number of units prepared by the Amherst Project, and was designed to be used either in series with other units from the Project or independently, in conjunction with other materials. While the units were geared initially for college-preparatory students at the high school level, experiments with them by the Amherst Project suggest the adaptability of many of them, either wholly or in part, for a considerable range of age and ability levels, as well as in a number of different kinds of courses.

The units have been used experimentally in selected schools throughout the country, in a wide range of teaching/learning situations. The results of those experiments will be incorporated in the Final Report of the Project on Cooperative Research grant H-168, which will be distributed through ERIC.

Except in one respect, the unit reproduced here is the same as the experimental unit prepared and tried out by the Project. The single exception is the removal of excerpted articles which originally appeared elsewhere and are under copyright. While the Project received special permission from authors and publishers to use these materials in its experimental edition, the original copyright remains in force, and the Project cannot put such materials in the public domain. They have been replaced in the present edition by bracketed summaries, and full bibliographical references have been included in order that the reader may find the material in the original.

This unit was initially prepared in the summer of 1966.

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SECTION I

THREE SITUATIONS

A. Roman Catholics and the Public Schools

The First Amendment to the Constitution reads in part that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." In recent years there has been much controversy over this clause of the Constitution. One controversy has been over the reading of the Bible or the recitation of prayers during school ceremonies. Another controversy has had to do with the use of public money, derived from taxes, for direct or indirect benefits to parochial schools, most of which are Roman Catholic.

The Supreme Court has not provided an entirely clear answer to the question, Would public support of Catholic schools be constitutional? The Court decided in 1930 that public funds could provide textbooks for Catholic schools. In 1947 the Court decided that public funds could also provide school-bus transportation for Catholic schools. In 1965, Congress passed a school-aid act which provided money for textbooks, library materials, and other forms of aid to parochial schools. The Supreme Court has not yet been asked to test the constitutionality of this act. Even if the Court decided the act is constitutional, a problem remains. Is public support of parochial-school education desirable? Is it a good thing? Is it compatible with a democratic society?

There are strong arguments for and against public aid. The selection which follows presents both sides of the case but concludes against aid.[1]

/The essay acknowledges that Catholics have logical explanations for public support of their schools; parochial schools save the

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[1] Robert Lekachman, "The Case for the Primacy of the Public Schools," published in Robert Gordis et al., Religion and the Schools (The Fund for the Republic, New York, 1959), 81-88.

> taxpayer the expense of educating many Catholic children, they encourage high academic standards, and foster public morality. Although constitutional, sociological and historical arguments can also be found to support the public support of parochial systems, the author contends that it is in the best interests of the democratic system to encourage public schooling for all children; the people of a democracy must learn to live with individuals whose beliefs differ from their own./

B. The Black Muslims

According to Black Muslim doctrine, Elijah Muhammad is the Messenger of Allah, the Muslim term for God. Elijah Muhammad was directly in contact with God in the 1930's and is certainly now the undisputed leader of the Black Muslim movement. The movement itself is very strict. Muslims emphasize their separateness by distinctive dress, by a very restricted diet (pork, for instance, is forbidden), and by changing their "slave names." (Elijah Muhammad was born Elijah Poole; Malcolm X was born Malcolm Little.) Many Muslims have taken up the study of Arabic. The basic doctrines of the Muslims are that Negroes, whom they call "so-called Negroes," are really Asiatics, that their true religion is Islam, that white men are actually devils, and that the only hope for Negroes lies in the establishment of a separate nation. This plea for nationhood is put forth by Elijah Muhammad in the following selection.[2]

> /Elijah Muhammad pleads for unity among black people through devotion to Allah. He calls for the creation of a separate nation for "so-called Negroes"; he claims that Allah will make this aim possible. Muhammad eschews resorting to politics or violence. He stresses self-love and self-discipline./

C. The Jews as a Group

Philip Roth is among the best known and most controversial writers in America today. His first book of stories, *Goodbye Columbus*,[3] from which this story is taken, won the National Book Award. He has also written a novel, *Letting Go*. (Both these books are available in paperback versions.)

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[2] Message to the Blackman in America (Muhammad Mosque of Islam No. 2, Chicago, 1965), 220-227.

> [The excerpt recounts the experience of a Jewish sargeant in a World War II "boot camp." Three Jewish recruits look to him for protection and companionship causing him to be variously embarrassed, amused and angry.]

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[3] *Goodbye*, *Columbus* (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, 1959), 161-200.

SECTION II

THEORIES OF ASSIMILATION

A. The Melting Pot

The idea of the melting-pot is a simple one based on a metaphor -- all manner of men come to America and are remade into Americans as all kinds of metal are poured into a crucible to become one alloy. The differences disappear and the substance becomes something new and supposedly better.

This vision of American life is an old one. It was expressed in classic form by Michel-Guillaume St. Jean de Crevecoeur, a Frenchman who lived for many years in America. The selection reprinted here is taken from Crevecoeur's famous book, Letters from an American Farmer.[1]

> /The selection defines the American, "this new man," as European in ancestry but molded by his new government and rank. The author envisions great prospects in arts, science and industry for the "new man" who enjoys ample rewards for his efforts. The author sees religion as losing strength in the new land./

Although Crevecoeur's writings are today more famous than those of Israel Zangwill, there was a time -- early in the twentieth century -- when all discussions of immigration referred to Zangwill's play, The Melting Pot. This was certainly the play that made the metaphor of the melting-pot a part of American history. The play is about a pair of Russian-American lovers. He is a Jew whose people had been resented in Russia by the family of the girl he loves. He decides that old-world hatreds are not a part of American life.[2]

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[1] Warren Barton Blake, ed., Letters from An American Farmer (E. P. Dutton and Co., New York, 1912), 43-44, 48-49.

[2] The Melting-Pot (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1909), 37.

> [The excerpt is an impassioned description of America as a crucible or melting pot where ethnic differences and emotions will disappear.]

B. Cultural Pluralism

"Cultural pluralism" is a phrase used by historians to describe a society made up of many different groups, each with its distinctive traits. The phrase was coined by Horace Kallen, an American philosopher who was a contemporary of Israel Zangwill. Kallen's case against the melting-pot is based not on a prejudice against minority groups but rather on a desire to keep alive the distinctive cultures brought to America by the immigrants from all over the world. Kallen wrote "Democracy vs the Melting-Pot" in 1915 and included the essay in a later book from which the reading is taken.[3]

> [Kallen describes the process by which immigrants adjust to their new country; assimilation is balanced by identification with national origins. The problems of blending new groups into a workable economy are outlined. The author questions the kind of life the nation encourages. He proposes a concept of harmony, rather than "unison," on treating various ethnic and religious groups. He advocates a condition where these groups could attain a "perfection" of their own kind, and the individual could develop himself. He cites the examples of Great Britain and Switzerland. He finally asks whether the ruling class would allow these conditions].

C. Emersonian Individualism

Ralph Waldo Emerson is perhaps the most famous American philosopher. His essay on "Self-Reliance" is found in almost every anthology of American literature. In the middle of the nineteenth century, Emerson was considered *the* spokesman for American ideals. His essay, excerpted here, emphasizes the self-reliant individual.

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[3] *Culture and Democracy in the United States* (Boni & Liveright, New York, 1924), 114-125.

Ralph Waldo Emerson

Self-Reliance[4]

Society everywhere is in conspiracy against the manhood of every one of its members. Society is a joint-stock company,[5] in which the members agree, for the better securing of his bread to each shareholder, to surrender the liberty and culture of the eater. The virtue in most request is conformity. Self-reliance is its aversion. It loves not realities and creators, but names and customs.

Whoso would be a man, must be a nonconformist. He who would gather immortal palms[6] must not be hindered by the name of goodness, but must explore if it be goodness. Nothing is at last sacred but the integrity of your own mind. Absolve you to yourself, and you shall have the suffrage of the world.[7] I remember an answer which when quite young I was prompted to make to a valued adviser who was wont to importune me[8] with the dear old doctrines of the church. On my saying, "What have I to do with the sacredness of traditions, if I live wholly from within?" my friend suggested, -- "But these impulses may be from below, not from above." I replied, "They do not seem to me to be such; but if I am the Devil's child, I will live then from the Devil." No law can be sacred to me but that of my nature. Good and bad are but names very readily transferable to that or this; the only right is what is after my constitution; the only wrong what is against it. A man is to carry himself in the presence of all opposition as if every thing were titular and ephemeral but he. I am ashamed to think how easily we capitulate to badges and names, to large societies and dead institutions. Every decent and well-spoken individual affects and sways me more than is right. I ought to go upright and vital, and speak the rude truth in all ways. . . . Your goodness must have some edge to it, -- else it is none. The doctrine of hatred must be preached, as the counteraction of the doctrine of love, when that pulses and whines, I shun father and mother and wife and brother when my genius[9] calls me. Iwould write on the lintels of the door-post, _Whim_. I hope it is somewhat better than whim at last, but we cannot spend the day in explanation. Expect me not show cause why I seek or why I exclude company. Then again, do not tell me, as a good man did to-day, of my obligation to put all poor men in good situations. Are they _my_ poor? I tell thee, thou foolish philanthropist, that I grudge the dollar, the dime, the cent I give to such men as do not belong to me and to whom I do not belong. There is a class of persons to whom by all spiritual affinity I am bought and sold; for them I will go to prison if need be; but your miscellaneous popular charities ; the education at college of fools; the building of meeting-houses to the vain end to which many now stand; alms to sots, and the thousand-fold Relief societies: -- though I confess with shame I sometimes succumb and give the dollar, it is a wicked dollar, which by and by I shall have the manhood to withhold.

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[4] _The Works of Ralph Waldo Emerson_ (Houghton Mifflin Co., Boston, n.d.), II, 51-59.

[5] Early form of the corporation.

[6] That is, win awards.

[7] That is, satisfy your own conscience, and the world will accept you.

[8] Ready to argue with me.

[9] My soul.

Virtues are, in the popular estimate, rather the exception than the rule. There is the man and his virtues. Men do what is called a good action, as some piece of courage or charity, much as they would pay a fine in expiation of daily non-appearance on parade. Their works are done as an apology or extenuation of their living in the world, -- as invalids and the insane pay a high board. Their virtues are penances. I do not wish to expiate, but to live. My life is for itself and not for the spectacle. I much prefer that it should be of a lower strain, so it be genuine and equal, than that it should be glittering and unsteady. I wish it to be sound and sweet, and not to need diet and bleeding. I ask primary evidence that you are a man, and refuse this appeal from the man to his actions. I know that for myself it makes no difference whether I do or forbear those actions which are reckoned excellent. I cannot consent to pay for a privilege where I have intrinsic right. Few and mean as my gifts may be, I actually am, and do not need for my own assurance or the assurance of my fellows any secondary testimony.

What I must do is all that concerns me, not what the people think. This rule, equally arduous in actual and an intellectual life, may serve for the whole distinction between greatness and meanness. It is the harder because you will always find those who think they know what is your duty better than you know it. It is easy in the world to live after the world's opinion; it is easy in solitude to live after our own; but the great man is he who in the midst of the crowd keeps with perfect sweetness the independence of solitude.

The objection to conforming to usages that have become dead to you is that it scatters your force. It loses your time and blurs the impression of your character. If you maintain a dead church, contribute to a dead Bible-society, vote with a great party either for the government or against it, spread your table like base housekeepers, -- under all these screens I have difficulty to detect the precise man you are: and of course so much force is withdrawn from your proper life. But do your work, and I shall know you. Do your work, and you shall reinforce your self. A man must consider what a blind-man's-bluff is this game of conformity. If I know your sect I anticipate your argument. I hear a preacher announce for his text and topic the expediency of one of the institutions of the church. Do I not know beforehand that not possibly can he say a new and spontaneous word? Do I not know that with all this ostentation of examining the grounds of the institution he will do no such thing? Do I not know that he is pledged to himself not to look but at one side, the permitted side, not as a man, but as a parish minister? He is a retained attorney, and these airs of the bench are the emptiest affectation. Well, most men have bound their eyes with one or another handkerchief, and attached themselves to some one of these communities of opinion. This conformity makes them not false in all particulars. Their every truth is not quite true. Their two is not the real two, their four not the real four; so that every word they say chagrins us and we know not where to begin to set them right. Meantime nature is not slow to equip us in the prison-uniform of the party to which we adhere. We come to wear one cut of face and figure, and acquire by degrees the gentlest asinine expression. There is a mortifying experience in particular, which does not fail to wreak itself also in the general history; I mean "the foolish face of praise," the forced smile which we put on in company where we do not feel at ease, in answer to conversation which does not interest us. The muscles, not spontaneously moved but moved by a low usurping wilfulness, grow tight about the outline of the face, with the most disagreeable sensation.

For nonconformity the world ships you with its displeasure. And therefore a man must know how to estimate a sour face. The bystanders look askance on him in the public street or in the friend's parlor. If this aversion had its origin in contempt and resistance like his own he might well go home with a sad countenance; but the sour faces of the multitude, like their sweet faces, have no deep cause, but are put on and off as the wind blows and a newspaper directs. Yet is the discontent of the multitude more formidable than that of the senate and the college. It is easy enough for a firm man who knows the world to brook the rage of the cultivated classes. Their rage is decorous and prudent, for they are timid, as being very vulnerable themselves. But when to their feminine rage the indignation of the people is added, when the ignorant and the poor are aroused, when the unintelligent brute force that lies at the bottom of society is made to growl and mow, it needs the habit of magnanimity and religion to treat it godlike as a trifle of no concernment.

The other terror that scares us from self-trust is our consistency; a reverence for our past act or word because the eyes of others have no other data for computing our orbit than our past acts, and we are loth to disappoint them. . . .

A foolish consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds, adored by little statesmen and philosophers and divines. With consistency a great soul has simply nothing to do. He may as well concern himself with his shadow on the wall. Speak what you think now in hard words and tomorrow speak what tomorrow thinks in hard words again, though it contradict every thing you said to-day. -- "Ah, so you shall be sure to be misunderstood." -- Is it so bad then to be misunderstood? Pythagoras was misunderstood, and Socrates, and Jesus, and Luther, and Copernicus, and Galileo, and Newton, and every pure and wise spirit that ever took flesh. To be great is to be misunderstood.

SECTION III

WHO AM I AND WHERE AM I GOING?

Family Origins Chart

1st Generation

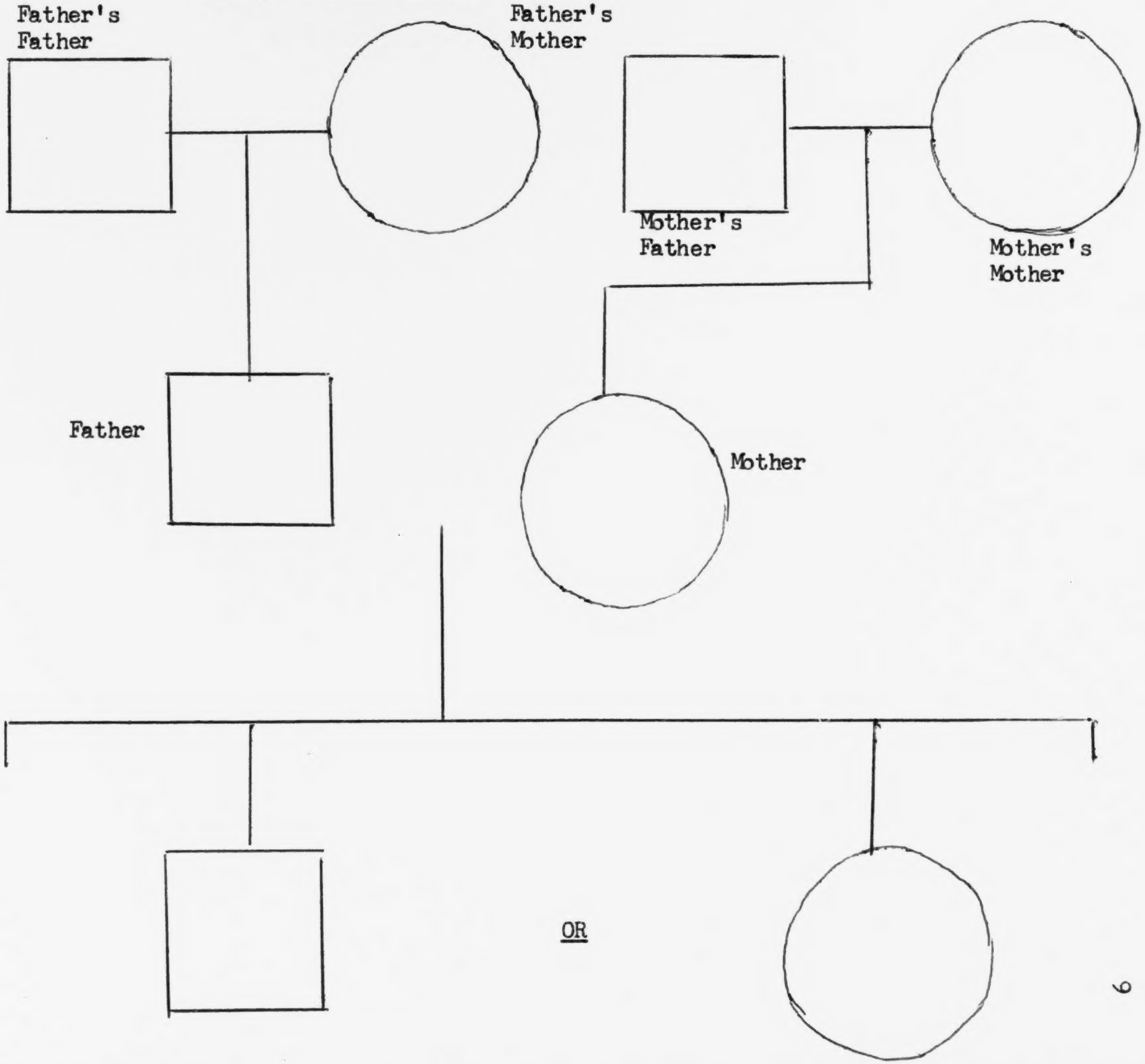
Race
Religion
National Origins
Economic Class

2nd Generation

Race
Religion
National Origins
Economic Class

3rd Generation (Student)

Race
Religion
National Origins
Economic Class


Father's Father
Father's Mother
Mother's Father
Mother's Mother
Father
Mother
OR

SECTION IV

THEORY AND PRACTICE

A. How to Succeed in Colonial America

The childhood and youth of Abraham Lincoln is the only American biography to rival in fame that of Benjamin Franklin, and Franklin's life has the advantage of a great biographer -- Franklin himself. Much of the story is familiar -- how Franklin was born in Boston and trained by his brother as a printer, how he ran off to Philadelphia and entered the city with two loaves of bread and a great deal of ambition; how he worked, planned, connived, invented, politicked and otherwise made his way to fame and fortune.

The autobiography is in some ways a how-to-do-it book. It was originally written as advice for Franklin's son. The following selection contains Franklin's formula for success in colonial America.

Benjamin Franklin

How I Tried to Become Morally Perfect[1]

> It was about this time I conceived the bold and arduous project of arriving at moral perfection. I wished to live without committing any fault at any time; I would conquer all that either natural inclination, custom, or company might lead me into. As I knew, or thought I knew, what was right and wrong, I did not see why I might not always do the one and avoid the other. But I soon found I had undertaken a task of more difficulty than I had imagined. While my care was employed in guarding against one fault, I was often surprised by another; habit took the advantage of inattention; inclination was sometimes too strong for reason. I concluded, at length, that the mere speculative conviction that it was our interest to be completely virtuous was not sufficient to prevent our slipping; and that the contrary habits must be broken, and good ones acquired and established, before we can have any dependence on a steady, uniform rectitude of conduct. For this purpose I therefore contrived the following method.
>
> In the various enumerations of the moral virtues I had met with in my reading, I found the catalogue more or less numerous, as

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[1] Albert Henry Smyth, ed., The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1905), I, 326-329.

different writers included more or fewer ideas under the same name. Temperance, for example, was by some confined to eating and drinking, while by others it was extended to mean the moderating every other pleasure, appetite, inclination, or passion, bodily or mental, even to our avarice and ambition. I proposed to myself, for the sake of clearness, to use rather more names, with fewer ideas annexed to each, than a few names with more ideas; and I included under thirteen names of virtues all that at that time occurred to me as necessary or desirable, and annexed to each a short precept, which fully expressed the extent I gave to its meaning.

These names of virtues, with their precepts, were:

1. TEMPERANCE. Eat not to dullness; drink not to elevation.

2. SILENCE. Speak not but what may benefit others or yourself; avoid trifling conversation.

3. ORDER. Let all your things have their places; let each part of your business have its time.

4. RESOLUTION. Resolve to perform what you ought; perform without fail what you resolve.

5. FRUGALITY. Make no expense but to do good to others or yourself; i. e., waste nothing.

6. INDUSTRY. Lose no time; be always employed in something useful; cut off all unnecessary actions.

7. SINCERITY. Use no hurtful deceit; think innocently and justly, and, if you speak, speak accordingly.

8. JUSTICE. Wrong none by doing injuries, or omitting the benefits that are your duty.

9. MODERATION. Avoid extremes; forbear resenting injuries so much as you think they deserve.

10. CLEANLINESS. Tolerate no uncleanliness in body, clothes, or habitation.

11. TRANQUILLITY. Be not disturbed at trifles, or at accidents common or unavoidable.

12. CHASTITY. Rarely use venery[2] but for health or offspring, never to dullness, weakness, or the injury of your own or another's peace or reputation.

13. HUMILITY. Imitate Jesus and Socrates.

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[2] Sexual intercourse.

My intention being to acquire the *habitude* of all these virtues, I judged it would be well not to distract my attention by attempting the whole at once, but to fix it on one of them at a time; and, when I should be master of that, then to proceed to another, and so on, till I should have gone through the thirteen; and, as the previous acquisition of some might facilitate the acquisition of certain others, I arranged them with that view, as they stand above. *Temperance* first, as it tends to procure that coolness and clearness of head, which is so necessary where constant vigilance was to be kept up, and guard maintained against the unremitting attraction of ancient habits, and the force of perpetual temptations. This being acquired and established, *Silence* would be more easy; and my desire being to gain knowledge at the same time that I improved in virtue, and considering that in conversation it was obtained rather by the use of the ears than of the tongue, and therefore wishing to break a habit I was getting into of prattling, punning, and joking, which only made me acceptable to trifling company, I gave *Silence* the second place. This and the next, *Order*, I expected would allow me more time for attending to my project and my studies. *Resolution*, once become habitual, would keep me firm in my endeavors to obtain all the subsequent virtues; *Frugality* and *Industry* freeing me from my remaining debt, and producing affluence and independence, would make more easy the practice of *Sincerity* and *Justice*, etc., etc. Conceiving then, that, agreeably to the advice of Pythagoras in his Golden Verses, daily examination would be necessary, I contrived the following method for conducting that examination.

I made a little book, in which I allotted a page for each of the virtues. I ruled each page with red ink, so as to have seven columns, one for each day of the week, marking each column with a letter for the day. I crossed these columns with thirteen red lines, marking the beginning of each line with the first letter of one of the virtues, on which line, and in its proper column, I might mark, by a little black spot, every fault I found upon examination to have been committed respecting that virtue upon that day.

I determined to give a week's strict attention to each of the virtues successively. Thus, in the first week, my great guard was to avoid every the least offence against *Temperance*, leaving the other virtues to their ordinary chance, only marking every evening the faults of the day. Thus, if in the first week I could keep my first line, marked T, clear of spots, I supposed the habit of that virtue so much strengthened, and its opposite weakened, that I might venture extending my attention to include the next, and for the following week keep both lines clear of spots. Proceeding thus to the last, I could go through a course complete in thirteen weeks, and four courses in a year. And like him who, having a garden to weed, does notattempt to eradicate all the bad herbs at once, which would exceed his reach and his strength, but works on one of the beds at a time, and, having accomplished the first, proceeds to a second, so I should have, I hoped, the encouraging pleasure of seeing on my pages the progress I made in virtue, by clearing successively my lines of their spots, till in the end, by a number of courses, I should be happy in viewing a clean book, after a thirteen week's daily examination.

Form of the pages.

		TEMPERANCE						
		Eat Not to Dullness; Drink Not to Elevation.						
	S.	M.	T.	W.	T.	F.	S.	
T.								
S.	*	*		*		*		
O.	* *	*	*		*	*	*	
R.			*			*		
F.		*			*			
I.			*					
S.								
J.								
M.								
C.								
T.								
C.								
H.								

B. What to do About the Pennsylvania Dutch

Benjamin Franklin was one of the most tolerant men of his generation. He tried to get along with everyone and very nearly did. But even he was troubled by the large German grip in Pennsylvania, the people whose descendants are called "the Pennsylvania Dutch."[3] Franklin expressed his fears in a letter to Richard Jackson, a friend.

Benjamin Franklin

The Pennsylvania Dutch[4]

> I am perfectly of your Mind, that Measures of great Temper are necessary with the Germans; and am not without Apprehensions, that, through their Indiscretion, or ours, or both, great Disorders may one day arise among us. Those who come hither are generally of the most ignorant stupid sort of their own Nation, and, as Ignorance if often attended with Credulity when Knavery would mislead it, and with Suspicion when Honesty would set it right; and as few of the English understand the German language, and so cannot address them either from the Press or Pulpit, it is almost impossible to remove any Prejudices they may entertain. Their own Clergy have very little Influence over their people, who seem to take an uncommon Pleasure in abusing and discharging the Minister on every trivial Occasion. Not being used to Liberty, they know not how to make a modest Use of it. . . . [They] seem not to think themselves free, till they can feel their Liberty in abusing and insulting their Teachers. Thus they are under no Restraint from ecclesiastical[5] Government; they behave, however, submissively enough at present to the civil Government, which I wish they may continue to do, for I remember when they modestly declined inter-meddling in our Elections, but now they come in Droves and carry all before them, except in one or two Counties.
>
> Few of their Children in the Country learn English. They import many Books from Germany; and of the six Printing-Houses in the Province, two are entirely German, two half German half English, and but two entirely English. They have one German Newspaper, and one half-German. Advertisements, intended to be general, are now printed in Dutch[6] and English. The Signs in our Streets have Inscriptions in both languages, and in some places only German. They begin of late to make all their Bonds and other legal Instruments in their own Language, which (though I think it ought not to be) are allowed good

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[3] The German word for German is Deutsch, which Americans pronounced as Dutch.

[4] Albert Henry Smyth, ed., The Writings of Benjamin Franklin (The Macmillan Co., New York, 1905), III, 139-141.

[5] Church.

[6] German.

in our Courts, where the German Business so increases, that there is continued need of Interpreters; and I suppose in a few Years they will also be necessary in the Assembly, to tell one half of our Legislators what the other half say.

In short, unless the Stream of their Importation could be turned from this to other Colonies, as you very judiciously propose, they will soon so outnumber us, that all the Advantages we have, will not in my Opinion be able to preserve our Language, and even our Government will become precarious. The French, who watch all Advantages, are now themselves making a German Settlement, back of us, in the Illinois Country, and by means of these Germans they may in time come to an understanding with ours; and, indeed, in the last War, our Germans showed a general Disposition, that seemed to bode us no good.[7] For, when the English, who were not Quakers,[8] alarmed by the Danger arising from the defenceless State of our Country, entered unanimously into an Association, and within this Government and the Lower Counties, raised, armed, and disciplined near ten thousand Men, the Germans, except a very few in proportion to their Number, refused to engage in it, giving out, one amongst another, and even in Print, that, if they were quiet, the French, should they take the Country, would not molest them; at the same time abusing the Philadelphians for fitting out Privateers against the Enemy, and representing the Trouble, Hazard, and Expense of defending the Province, as a greater Inconvenience than any that might be expected from a change of Government. Yet I am not entirely for refusing to admit them into our Colonies. All that seems to me necessary is, to distribute them more equally, mix them with the English, establish English schools, where they are now too thick settled; and take some care to prevent the Practice, lately fallen into by some of the Ship-Owners of sweeping the German Gaols to make up the Number of their Passengers. I say I am not against the Admission of Germans in general, for they have their Virtues. Their Industry and Frugality are exemplary. They are excellent Husbandmen; and contribute greatly to the Improvement of a Country.

C. Thomas Jefferson as Abolitionist

In the document that proclaimed American independence, Thomas Jefferson wrote that "all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness." Jefferson would also have liked to have included in the Declaration of Independence a statement against slavery, which he saw to be contrary to his principles. The statement was not included, nor did the state of Virginia take up Jefferson's suggestion that the slaves of that state ought to be emancipated.

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[7] This letter was written before the French and Indian War, which began in 1754.

[8] The Quakers were pacifists, like most of the Germans who came to Pennsylvania at this time.

Jefferson's argument against slavery was published in 1782 in his description and discussion of his native state, Notes on Virginia.

Thomas Jefferson

The Evils of Slavery[9]

> There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of all education in him. From his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do. If a parent could find no motive either in his philanthropy or his self-love, for restraining the intemperance of passion towards his slave, it should always be a sufficient one that his child is present. But generally it is not sufficient. The parent storms, the child looks on, catches the lineaments of wrath, puts on the same airs in the circle of smaller slaves, gives a loose to the worst of passions, and thus nursed, educated, and daily exercised in tyranny, cannot but be stamped by it with odious peculiarities. The man must be a prodigy who can retain his manners and morals undepraved by such circumstances. And with what execration should the statesman be loaded, who, permitting one-half the citizens thus to trample on the rights of the other, transforms those into despots, and these into enemies, destroys the morals of the one part, and the amor partriae[10] of the other. . . . With the morals of the people, their industry also is destroyed. For in a warm climate, no man will labor for himself who can make another labor for him. This is so true, that of the proprietors of slaves a very small proportion indeed are ever seen to labor. And can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated but with His wrath? Indeed I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest. But it is impossible to be temperate and to pursue this subject through the various considerations of policy, of morals, of history natural and civil. We must be contented to hope they will force their way into every one's mind. I think a change already

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[9] Paul Leicester Ford, ed., Notes on The State of Virginia, The Writings of Thomas Jefferson (G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York, 1894), III, 266-268.

[10] Patriotism.

> perceptible, since the origin of the present revolution. The spirit of the master is abating, that of the slave rising from the dust, his condition mollifying, the way I hope preparing, under the auspices of heaven, for a total emancipation, and that this is disposed, in the order of events, to be with the consent of the masters, rather than by their extirpation.[11]

D. Thomas Jefferson as White-Supremacist

Despite his sense of the evils of slavery, Thomas Jefferson was far from convinced that American Negroes ought to be integrated into white society. Another section of Notes on Virginia contains Jefferson's view of the Negro.

The Inferiority of the Negro[12]

> It will probably be asked, Why not retain and incorporate the [emancipated] blacks into the state, and thus save the expence of supplying by importation of white settlers, the vacancies they will leave? Deep rooted prejudices entertained by the whites; ten thousand recollections, by the blacks, of the injuries they have sustained; new provocations; the real distinctions which nature has made; and many other circumstances will divide us into parties, and produce convulsions, which will probably never end but in the extermination of the one or the other race. -- To these objections, which are political, may be added others, which are physical and moral. The first difference which strikes us is that of colour. Whether the black of the negro resides in the reticular membrane between the skin and scarfskin, or in the scarfskin itself; whether it proceeds from the colour of the blood, the colour of the bile, or from that of some other secretion, the difference is fixed in nature, and is as real as if its seat and cause were better known to us. And is this difference of no importance? Is it not the foundation of a greater or less share of beauty in the two races? Are not the fine mixtures of red and white, the expressions of every passion by greater or less suffusions of colour in the one, preferable to that eternal monotony, which reigns in the countenances, that immovable veil of black which covers all the emotions of the other race? Add to these, flowing hair, a more elegant symmetry of form, their own judgment in favour of the whites, declared by their preference of them as uniformly as is the preference of the Orangootan for the black woman over those of his own species. The circumstance of superior beauty, is thought worthy attention in the propagation of our horses, dogs, and other domestic animals; why not in that of man?

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[11] Rooting out or destruction.

[12] Paul Leicester Ford, Notes, 244-245, 250.

[After some further remarks on the alleged physical inferiority of the Negro, Jefferson discusses the Negro's contribution to civilization and finds it very small.]. . .

The opinion that they are inferior in the faculties of reason and imagination, must be hazarded with great diffidence. To justify a general conclusion, requires many observations, even where the subject may be submitted to the Anatomical knife, to Optical glasses, to analysis by fire or by solvents. How much more than where it is a faculty, not a substance, we are examining; where it eludes the research of all the senses; where the conditions of its existence are various and variously combined; where the effects of those which are present or absent bid defiance to calculation; let me add too, as a circumstance of great tenderness, where our conclusion would degrade a whole race of men from the rank in the scale of beings which their Creator may perhaps have given them. To our reproach it must be said, that though for a century and a half we have had under our eyes the races of black and of red men, they have never yet been viewed by us as subjects of natural history. I advance it, therefore, as a suspicion only, that the blacks, whether originally a distinct race, or made distinct by time and circumstances, are inferior to the whites in the endowments both of body and mind. It is not against experience to suppose that different species of the same genus, or varieties of the same species, may possess different qualifications. Will not a lover of natural history, then, one who views the gradations in all the races of animals with the eye of philosophy, excuse an effort to keep those in the department of man as distinct as nature has formed them? This unfortunate difference of colour, and perhaps of faculty, is a powerful obstacle to the emancipation of these people. Many of their advocates, while they wish to vindicate the liberty of human nature, are anxious also to preserve its dignity and beauty. Some of these, embarrassed by the question, 'What further is to be done with them?' join themselves in opposition with those who are actuated by sordid avarice only. Among the Romans emancipation required but one effort. The slave, when made free, might mix with, without staining the blood of his master. But with us a second is necessary, unknown to history. When freed, he is to be removed beyond the reach of mixture.

E. The Destiny of the Indian: A White Man's View

By a series of treaties with the United States, the Cherokee Indians of northwest Georgia were guaranteed the right of self-government. Late in the 1820's, the governor and legislature of Georgia decided to incorporate the Indian territory into the state and proceeded to pass a series of laws to make this possible. Since the execution of treaties depends, finally, on the Chief Executive, the Cherokees appealed to President Andrew Jackson. His first Annual Message to Congress gave them little reason to rejoice.

Andrew Jackson

The Destiny of the American Indian[13]

The conditions and ulterior destiny of the Indian tribes within the limits of some of our States have become objects of much interest and importance. It has long been the policy of Government to introduce among them the arts of civilization, in the hope of gradually reclaiming them from a wandering life. This policy has, however, been coupled with another wholly incompatible with its success. Professing a desire to civilize and settle them, we have at the same time lost no opportunity to purchase their lands and thrust them farther into the wilderness. By this means they have not only been kept in a wandering state, but been led to look upon us as unjust and indifferent to their fate. Thus, though lavish in its expenditures upon the subject, Government has constantly defeated its own policy, and the Indians in general, receding farther and farther to the west, have retained their savage habits. A portion, however, of the Southern tribes, having mingled much with the whites and made some progress in the arts of civilized life, have lately attempted to erect an independent government within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. These States, claiming to be the only sovereigns within their territories, extended their laws over the Indians, which induced the latter to call upon the United States for protection.

Under these circumstances the question presented was whether the General Government had a right to sustain those people in their pretensions. The Constitution declares that "no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State" without the consent of its legislature. If the General Government is not permitted to tolerate the erection of a confederate State within the territory of one of the members of this Union against her consent, much less could it allow a foreign and independent government to establish itself there. Georgia became a member of the Confederacy which eventuated in our Federal Union as a sovereign State, always asserting her claim to certain limits, which, having been originally defined in her colonial charter and subsequently recognized in the treaty of peace, she has ever since continued to enjoy, except as they have been circumscribed by her own voluntary transfer of a portion of her territory to the United States in the articles of cession of 1802. Alabama was admitted into the Union on the same footing with the original States, with boundaries which were prescribed by Congress. There is no constitutional, conventional, or legal provision which allows them less power over the Indians within their borders than is possessed by Maine or New York. Would the people of Maine permit the Penobscot tribe to erect an independent government within their State. And unless they did would it not be the duty of the General Government to support them in resisting such a measure? Would the people of New York permit each remnant of the Six Nations within her borders to declare itself an independent people under the protection of the United States? Could the Indians establish a separate republic on each of their reservations in Ohio? And if they were so disposed

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[13] J. D. Richardson, ed., A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents (Washington, 1907), II, 456-459.

> would it be the duty of this Government to protect them in the attempt? If the principle involved in the obvious answer to these questions be abandoned, it will follow that the objects of this Government are reversed, and that it has become a part of its duty to aid in destroying the States which it was established to protect.
>
> Actuated by this view of the subject, I informed the Indians inhabiting parts of Georgia and Alabama that their attempt to establish an independent government would not be countenanced by the Executive of the United States, and advised them to emigrate beyond the Mississippi or submit to the laws of those states. . . .
>
> [In order to pursue this policy,] I suggest for your [Congress'] consideration the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or Territory now formed, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it, each tribe having a distinct control over the portion designated for its use. There they may be secure in the enjoyment of governments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier and between the several tribes. There the benevolent may endeavor to teach them the arts of civilization, and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race and to attest the humanity and justice of this Government.
>
> This emigration should be voluntary, for it would be as cruel and as unjust to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers and seek a home in a distant land. But they should be distinctly informed that if they remain within the limits of the States they must be subject to their laws. In return for their obedience as individuals they will without doubt be protected in the enjoyment of those possessions which they have improved by their industry. But it seems to me visionary to suppose that in this state of things claims can be allowed on tracts of country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain or passed them in the chase. Submitting to the laws of the States, and receiving, like other citizens, protection in their persons and property, they will ere long become merged in the mass of our population.

F. The Destiny of the Indian:
The Indians' View

The leaders of the Cherokees were dismayed by the lack of support they experienced. They put their feelings about their land into the strongest language they had.

The Land of Our Fathers[14]

We wish to remain on the land of our fathers. We have a perfect and original right to remain without interruption or molestation. The treaties with us, and laws of the United States made in pursuance of treaties, guaranty our residence and our privileges, and secure us against intruders. Our only request is, that these treaties may be fulfilled, and these laws executed.

But if we are compelled to leave our country, we see nothing but ruin before us. The country west of the Arkansas territory is unknown to us. From what we can learn of it, we have no prepossessions in its favor. All the inviting parts of it, as we believe, are preoccupied by various Indian nations, to which it has been assigned. They would regard us as intruders, and look upon us with an evil eye. The far greater part of that region is, beyond all controversy, badly supplied with wood and water; and no Indian tribe can live as agriculturists without these articles. All our neighbors, in case of our removal, though crowded into our near vicinity, would speak a language totally different from ours, and practice different customs. The original possessors of that region are now wandering savages lurking for prey in the neighborhood. They have always been at war, and would be easily tempted to turn their arms against peaceful emigrants. Were the country to which we are urged much better than it is represented to be, and were it free from the objections which we have made to it, still it is not the land of our birth, nor of our affections. It contains neither the scenes of our childhood, nor the graves of our fathers.

The removal of families to a new country, even under the most favorable auspices, and when the spirits are sustained by pleasing visions of the future, is attended with much depression of mind and sinking of heart. This is the case, when the removal is a matter of decided preference, and when the persons concerned are in early youth or vigorous manhood. Judge, then, what must be the circumstances of a removal, when a whole community, embracing persons of all classes and every description, from the infant to the man of extreme old age, the sick, the blind, the lame, the improvident, the reckless, the desperate, as well as the prudent, the considerate, the industrious, are compelled to remove by odious and intolerable vexations and persecutions, brought upon them in the forms of law, when all will agree only in this, that they have been cruelly robbed of their country, in violation of the most solemn compacts, which it is possible for communities to form with each other; and that, if they should make themselves comfortable in their new residence, they have nothing to expect hereafter but to be the victims of a future legalized robbery!

Such we deem, and are absolutely certain, will be the feelings of the whole Cherokee people, if they are forcibly compelled, by the laws of Georgia, to remove; and with these feelings, how is it possible that we should pursue our present course of improvement, or avoid sinking into utter despondency? We have been called a poor, ignorant, and degraded people. We certainly are not rich; nor have we ever boasted of our knowledge, or our moral or intellectual elevation. But there is not a man within our limits so ignorant as not to know that he has a right to live on the land of his fathers, in the possession of his immemorial privileges, and that this right has been acknowledged and guaranteed by the United States; nor is there a man so degraded as not to feel a keen sense of injury, on being deprived of this right and driven into exile.

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[14] Nile's Weekly Register, XXXVIII (August 21, 1830), 456-457.

It is under a sense of the most pungent feelings that we make this, perhaps our last appeal to the good people of the United States. It cannot be that the community we are addressing, remarkable for its intelligence and religious sensibilities, and preeminent for its devotion to the rights of man, will lay aside this appeal, without considering that we stand in need of its sympathy and commiseration. We know that to the Christian and to the philanthropist the voice of our multiplied sorrows and fiery trials will not appear as an idle tale. In our own land, on our own soil, and in our own dwellings, which we reared for our wives and for our little ones, when there was peace on our mountains and in our valleys, we are encountering troubles which cannot but try our verysouls. But shall we, on account of these troubles, forsake our beloved country? Shall we be compelled by a civilized and Christian people, with whom we have lived in perfect peace for the last forty years, and for whom we have willingly bled in war, to bid a final adieu to our homes, our farms, our streams and our beautiful forests? No. We are still firm. We intend still to cling, with our wonted affection, to the land which gave us birth, and which, every day of our lives, brings to us new and stronger ties of attachment. We appeal to the judge of all the earth, who will finally award us justice, and to the good sense of the American people, whether we are intruders upon the land of others. Our consciences bear us witness that we are the invaders of no man's rights -- we have robbed no man of his territory -- we have usurped no man's authority, nor have we deprived any one of his unalienable privileges. How then shall we indirectly confess the right of another people to our land by leaving it forever? On the soil which contains the ashes of our beloved men we wish to live -- on this soil we wish to die.

We intreat those to whom the foregoing paragraphs are addressed, to remember the great law of love. "Do to others as ye would that others should do to you" -- Let them remember that of all nations on the earth, they are under the greatest obligation to obey this law. We pray them to remember that, for the sake of principle, their forefathers were compelled to leave, therefore driven from the old world, and that the winds of persecution wafted them over the great waters and landed them on the shores of the new world, when the Indian was the sole lord and proprietor of these extensive domains -- Let them remember in what way they were received by the savage of America, when power was in his hand, and his ferocity could not be restrained by any human arm. We urge them to bear in mind, that those who would now ask of them a cup of cold water, and a spot of earth, a portion of their own patrimonial possessions, on which to live and die in peace, are the descendants of those, whose origin, as inhabitants of North America, history and tradition are alike insufficient to reveal. Let them bring to remembrance all these facts, and they cannot, and we are sure, they will not fail to remember, and sympathize with us in these our trials and sufferings.

SECTION V

THREE PROBLEMS

A. The Great Steel Strike of 1919

Although most of us today take labor unions for granted, they are really a recent addition to American society. Less than fifty years ago the steel industry was convulsed by a strike that was as much about the right of workers to organize as about the conditions against which they protested. The strike, which lasted from 22 September 1919 to 7 January 1920, idled 300,000 workers and led to an investigation of the situation by the Federal government.

The position of United States Steel Corporation was set forth by Judge Elbert H. Gary, chairman of the board of directors and also chief executive officer, and, incidently, the man for whom Gary, Indiana, is named. Gary acted as the company's spokesman during the Senate's investigation and also at a stockholders' meeting shortly after the strike had ended.[1]

> /While Gary claims support for the "open shop," he cautions against the practices of labor unions. He warns the workingman against high dues, mandatory participation in strikes, inflexible working conditions, and delays in promotion due to the seniority principle. Gary criticizes the violence used by union members, and the political activity of unions; he concludes that unions are responsible for high costs and inefficiency./

The Senate Committee on Education and Labor shared some assumptions with Judge Gary but differed with him in its conclusions. The committee's recommendations included the following passages.

The Americanization of Labor[2]

The committee . . . present these propositions:

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[1] Elbert H. Gary, Statement at Annual Meeting of Stockholders, April 18, 1921, 12-14.

[2] Hearings Before the Committee on Education and Labor, U. S. Senate, 66th Congress, Pursuant to Senate Resolution 188 (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1919).

(a) That the laborers in the steel mills had a just complaint relative to the long hours of service on the part of some of them and the right to have that complaint heard by the company.

(b) That they had the right to have the representatives of their own choosing present grievances to the employers. Some members of the committee believe that more friendly relations would be maintained between employer and employee if the representatives who are chosen to present grievances to the employers were actually working in the industry and that such representatives ought not to be from outside of the industry.

(c) That behind this strike is massed a considerable element of I.W.W.'s, anarchists, revolutionists, and Russian soviets, and that some radical men not in harmony with the conservative elements of the American Federation of Labor are attempting to use the strike as a means of elevating themselves to power within the ranks of organized labor.

A few suggestions as to these findings will be in order. The evidence disclosed that a percentage of the men work 8 hours, a larger percentage 10 hours, and a lesser percentage 12 hours, although there is dispute in the evidence as to this proposition.

Judge Gary testifies that 34.8 per cent work 8 hours; 39.40 per cent work 10 hours; 26.52 per cent work 12 hours.

We believe that a large majority of the men actually working in the mills work 10 and 12 hours per day. While there are spells of rest here and there through these long periods of 10 and 12 hours, yet the fact remains that the general rule is either 10-or-12-hour day, during which the men are on duty.

There has been some improvement in the steel industry in this respect, for some years ago a large percentage of the labor worked 10 and 12 hours a day and 7 days a week. While the claim is made that the 7-day week has been abolished except in emergencies and the men who work on Sundays are allowed one week-day for rest, the evidence on this point is conflicting.

We believe where continuous operation is absolutely necessary the men should at least be allowed one day's rest in each week.

The work in the steel mills is such that men must be constantly in attendance and the work does not stop. To change to an 8-hour day would mean three shifts instead of two. The Steel Co. claims that it is impossible to get the men. And further, that the men want to work more than 8 hours in order to get the additional pay, there being a basic 8-hour day as far as pay is concerned, and time and a half for all time over 8 hours.

> It is true some of the workers testified that they wanted to work longer in order to get the increased compensation, but most of them seemed anxious for an 8-hour day with a living wage. The policy of working men 10 and 12 hours per day in the steel mills is, it seems to the committee, an unwise and un-American policy. There are many hundreds of thousands of employees in the steel mills, a considerable portion who can not read- speak,- or write the English language. It is claimed by the Steel Co. that a very large proportion of those who are out on the strike are foreigners, which is defined in the evidence to be non-English-speaking people. The testimony sustains this contention.
>
> The 8-hour day is involved in the solution of this question. These non-English-speaking aliens must be Americanized and must learn our language, so the question of a reasonable working day is involved in the question of Americanization. Men can not work 10 and 12 hours per day and attend classes at night school. It is the general consensus of opinion of the best economic writers and thinkers that the establishment of 8-hour-day systems does not diminish production. Nor do we think the claim made that an 8-hour-day is impossible because the workmen cannot be secured for three shifts is tenable. An 8-hour day with a living wage that will enable men to support their families and bring up their children according to the standards of American life ought to be a cardinal part of our industrial policy and the sooner the principle is recognized the better it will be for the entire country. . . .
>
> Judge Gary seems to believe that the question of open and closed shop is involved in the general proposition. There may be two kinds of closed shop as we understand it -- a shop closed against non-union men because they do not belong to a union and a shop closed against union men because they do belong to a union. One is a closed shop through the instrumentality of the men themselves who belong to the union and the other is a closed shop through the instrumentality of the employers. Both of such closed shops are un-American.

B. The McCarran Act and the Quota System

From the foundation of the Republic until 1921, the immigration policy of the United States was one that allowed almost anyone to enter the country who wanted to do so. After 1921, a series of laws restricted immigration. The principle of restriction was a quota based on national origins. The McCarran Act of 1952 stipulated that a nation could send to the United States annually one-sixth of one per cent as many people as that nation's portion of the 1920 population. In other words, if 600,000 Americans, in 1920, were descended from Finns, then Finland's annual quota would be 1,000 persons a year. Actually, Finland's quota for 1952 was 566. The minimum quota for any country was 100 persons a year.

When the McCarran Act was first passed, President Truman vetoed it because he felt it was a prejudiced and discriminatory act. Senator McCarran, the author of the bill, disagreed. The following selections are taken from McCarran's speech in the United States Senate on June 27, 1952 and from a statement he released when a presidential commission condemned the McCarran Act. The selections are followed by a table which shows the quotas under the four immigration acts.

Patrick McCarran

The Fairness of the National-Origins System[3]

> [The] basic principles upon which the national origins quota system is founded are fair and just. Furthermore, the national origins quota system is the only system that has been suggested which is practicable and reasonable for the control of immigration. In a word, the national origins quota system allocates quota numbers on the basis of the ratio of each racial group in the United States to the aggregate population.
>
> Let it be emphasized, Mr. President, that although the national origins quota system has been in effect since 1929, no one has yet come forth with a satisfactory substitute for the allocation of quota numbers. If this veto is sustained we shall continue to have the national origins quota system under the present law, but without the desirable revisions within such system which are made by the instant bill. If this veto is sustained we will not have met the problem of the oriental races which are presently inadmissible to the United States. If this veto is sustained we will not have those provisions of the bill which grant non-quota status to husbands of citizens. If this veto is sustained we will not have the system of selective immigration within our quota system so that we can meet the needs in this country of aliens of special skill or knowledge. If this veto is sustained we shall not have those provisions of the bill which are designed to prevent the separation of families by permitting a more liberal designation of the quota to which certain relatives of admissible aliens may be charged.

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[3] Congressional Record (June 27, 1952), 8254.

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McCarran Statement[4]

> [McCarran argues that his Act, which the commission claimed "violates American principles," was in fact approved by the State Department, the Central Intelligence Agency and others. He claims that the Act does not allow racial or religious discrimination, but is "tough, very tough" on Communists, criminals and subversives. He contends that "pinks", "misguided 'liberals'" and potential "demagogues" are responsible for blocking the passage of his Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952.]

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[4] The New York Times (January 2, 1953), 1, 7.

ANNUAL IMMIGRATION QUOTAS, BY COUNTRY, UNDER SUCCESSIVE IMMIGRATION LAWS: 1921 to 1952[5]

Country	1921 Act (3 percent, 1910)	1924 Act		1952 Immigration and Nationality Act
		Effective, 1924 (2 percent, 1800)	Effective, 1929 (national origin ratio)	
All countries	356,995	164,667	153,714	154,657
Europe	355,406	161,546	150,591	149,667
Austria	7,451	785	1,413	1,405
Belgium	1,563	512	1,304	1,297
Bulgaria	302	100	100	100
Czechoslovakia	14,282	3,073	2,874	2,859
Denmark	5,694	2,789	1,181	1,175
Finland	3,921	471	569	566
France	5,729	3,054	3,086	3,069
Germany	68,059	51,227	25,957	25,814
Great Britain	77,342	34,007	65,721	65,361
Greece	3,294	100	307	308
Hungary	5,638	473	869	865
Iceland	------	100	100	100
Ireland	------	28,567	17,853	17,756
Italy	42,057	3,845	5,802	5,645
Netherlands	3,607	1,648	3,153	3,136
Norway	12,202	6,453	2,377	2,364
Poland	25,827	5,982	6,524	6,488
Portugal	2,520	503	440	438
Rumania	7,419	603	295	289
Spain	912	131	252	250
Sweden	20,042	9,561	3,314	3,295
Switzerland	3,752	2,081	1,707	1,698
Turkey	656	100	226	225
U.S.S.R.	34,284	2,248	2,784	2,697
Yugoslavia	6,426	671	845	933
Other Europe	2,427	1,562	1,538	1,534
Asia	1,043	1,300	1,323	2,990
Africa	122	1,200	1,200	1,400
Australia, New Zealand, and Pacific Islands	359	221	200	600
All others	65	400	400	-------

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[5] *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1958* (Government Printing Office, Washington, 1958), 89.

C. Liberty and Equality

The civil-rights movement is one that challenges every American. For the participants of the civil rights movement, the challenge is to the "power structure" of the community to live up to its declared belief in liberty and equality. To some, however, the civil-rights movement seems to be a challenge to liberty and equality itself. Edward Cummerford is one of these. His essay, originally printed in the American Bar Association Journal, was reprinted by U. S. News & World Report.[6]

> [Cummerford argues that federal judges who can dictate school policy might try to expand their jurisdiction to include areas such as real estate. He questions whether the "Founding Fathers" intended the courts to hold such power. He criticizes pressures exerted by minority groups on private institutions and claims that individual liberty is now subordinate to a principle of equality. He warns against allowing the National government to extend its powers and concludes with a paean to liberty.]

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[6] "Civil Rights and Civil Wrongs," American Bar Association Journal (February, 1964), as reprinted in U. S. News & World Report (February 17, 1964), 86.